

## Message Text

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16

ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SAM-01 IO-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 EUR-12 NIC-01 SAJ-01 AID-05 /084 W

----- 060062

R 040708Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5112  
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS  
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, IS, XF, US, UR

SUBJECT: DAYAN ON ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE AND ROLE OF SUPERPOWERS

1. FORMER DEFMIN MOSHE DAYAN SPEAKING AT THIRD OF TEN-PART  
LECTURE SERIES AT BAR-ILLAN UNIVERSITY JAN 2, MADE FOLLOWING  
REMARKS: AS REPORTED IN JAN 3 JERUSALEM POST.

2. WAR PROSPECT UNLIKELY. DAYAN SAID THAT HE DID NOT  
EXPECT WAR "EITHER NOW OR NEXT SPRING". EGYPT, HE ESTIMATED  
WAS STILL UNABLE TO WAGE WAR; AND SYRIA WOULD NOT GO IT ALONE, KNOWING  
ISRAEL WAS WELL PREPARED. HE ADDED THAT HE WAS NO DANGER THAT  
MIDEAST WAR WOULD ESCALATE INTO WORLDWIDE CONFLICT UNLESS  
SUPERPOWERS WANTED IT.

3. US-ISRAEL RELATIONS. DAYAN SAID THAT US AND ISRAEL WERE  
DEFINITELY ON "SAME SIDE OF THE BARRICADES." THE AMERICANS,  
DAYAN SAID "WILL NOT THROW US TO THE WOLVES BUT THEY DO USE  
PRESSURE SOMETIMES IN THEIR EFFORTS TO PERSUADE US TO REALIZE  
OUR INTEREST IN A SOLUTION THE WAY THEY SEE IT." HE

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REVEALED THAT US STOPPED ARMS SHIPMENTS IN 1970 WHEN ISRAEL WAS

RELUCTANT TO TAKE UP ROGERS"PEACE INITIATIVE"THE LED TO END OF WAR OF ATTRITION.

4. WEST BANK AND JORDAN. DAYAN SAID THAT HE OPPOSED MOVING THE FRONTIER BACK FROM JORDAN RIVER TO ANY LINE IN JUDEA AND SAMARIA, BUT RESPECTED PALESTININA ARABS' WISH TO BE JORDANIAN CITIZENS. " BUT WE, TOO, HAVE A RIGHT IN PALESTINE, AND I CANNOT CONCEIVE HOW ANYBODY CAN PREVENT US FROM SETTLING ONFREE LAND ANYWHERE IN THIS COUNTRY."

5. EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI SETTLEMENT. DAYAN SAID THAT HE ENVISAGED POSSIBLIITY OF A PARTIAL SETTLEMENT. ISRAELSHOULD NOTWITHDRAW FROM GULF OF SUEZ WITHOUTPROPER ARRANGEMENT, BUT HE DID NOT SEE GULF AS ISRAEL'S BORDER, OR THINK IT SHOULD BE HELD BECAUSE OF OIL AT ABU RODIES. A PROPER ARRANGEMENTWITH EGYPT WOULD TAKE CARE OF THE OIL QUESTION.

6. GUARANTEES. WHILE HE DID NOT BELIEVE IN A SETTLEMENT GUARANTEED BY OUTSIDE POWERS, HE THOUGHT IT PRACTICAL TO HAVE UN-BACKED MUTUAL GUARANTEES, DEMILITARIZED ZONES AND US AERIAL SURVEILLANCE.

7. IN SEPARATE PUBLISHED IN MAARIV JAN3, DAYAN COMMENTED ON HIS WELL-KNOWN POLICY OF AVOIDING DIRECT ISRAELI-SOVIET CONFRONTATION. ANSWERING QUESTION RE IDF INCIDENTS INVOLVING SOVIET PERSONNEL AS WELL AS EQUIPMENT( BOMBING OF SOVIET SHIP IN LATAKIA AND SOVIET CULTURAL CENTER IN DAMASCUS IN OCTOBER WAR), HE SAID THAT IN MOST CASES IDF WAS NOT AWARE SOVIET PERSONNEL WERE INVOLVED. EXCEPTION WAS DOWNINGOF FOUR SOVIET PLANES NEAR END OF WAR OF ATTRITION--"BUT WE REFRAIN FROM CLASHING WITH THE SOVIET ARMY."

8. DAYAN ALSO EXPLAINED HIS VIEW THAT IS WAS NOT REPEAT NOT GOI INTEREST TO ENTER ARAB CAPITALS, SAYING IT IS NO A SECRET THAT I WAS NO ENTHUSIASTIC IN 1967 ABOUT GOINGTO THE SUEZ AND I HAD FEAR ALSO THE CONQUEST OF THE GOLAN. I THINK THATUNDER THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, IF WE WENT TO CAIRO OR DAMASCUS, THE SOVIETS WOULD HAVE INTERVENED, OR THREATENED TO DO SO, AND THAT THE AMERICANS...WOULD HAVE TOLD US NOT TO DO IT...THIS DOES NO MEAN THAT THE IDF CANNOT WIN... I DON'T THINK THAT VICTORY EXPRESSES ITSELF IN DESTROYINGASWAN OR ENTERINGTHE ARAB LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CAPITALS. IN THE LAST WAR I WAS AGAINST GOING TO CAIRO."

9. COMMENT: DAYAN'S MAARIV COMMENTS UNDERSCORE HIS REPUTATION OF BEING " AFRAID OFTHE RUSSIANS"-- A REPUTATION THAT MANY OF HISPOLITICAL OPPONENTSCLAIM DOMINATES HIS THINKING AND ACTIONS. WE ARE ALSO STRUCK BY WHATAPPEARSTO BE HIS INTENTIONALLY OPAQUE FORMULATION OF STATUS OF ABU RODEIS IN EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS. AS DAYAN IS SCHEDULED TO SPEAK

IN TWO WEEKS TIME ON " ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN RELATIONS", HE PROBABLY WILL  
REVERT TO SUBJECT AGAIN.  
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## Message Attributes

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